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Philippines. The concept of gratitude to God for an abundant harvest is a Catholic addition, even though this gratitude is also tendered to the spirits.

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Cases of illness and a few deaths allegedly caused by these spirits or souls because a dulot was not held were reported. One incident affords an example. A resident of Barrio Caticugan became so ill he was unable to eat or sleep for three nights. This sickness occurred the day after a drinking bout in another barrio. Friends first brought him a wine called "Siok Pong," sold in the poblacion Chinese stores, and said to have medicinal qualities. Sick man could not drink the wine and his illness became worse.

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He tried to think what could be causing his sickness; his heavy drinking was not considered as a possible factor. Finally, a mananabal (local herbalist, often called "quack doctor" in the poblacion) was called to question the patient. It was finally decided that his illness was due to failure to hold a dulot before harvesting his corn. An ancillary cause was thought the jokes he had told near a swampy place, unintentionally antagonizing the spirits that inhabited this locality.

The sick man contended it was unnecessary for him to hold a dulot for he was only a tenant; the dulot was the responsibility of the field's owner. The mananabal said this was not correct, the dulot was the responsibility of the person working the field, even if he were only the tenant. The patient promised to hold a dulot and it is reported his condition improved immediately.

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Catiugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Catiugan.

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The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.⁴⁴ The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God.

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The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the

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⁴⁴In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

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it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.⁴⁷

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It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected the fields of the people living near the hills and those of Ege on the other side of the main canal.

⁴⁷Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. However, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 1930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One farmer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever and headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths are believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there did not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me that he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling the land, however, he did not farm the land during my residence. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is no worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little cultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

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